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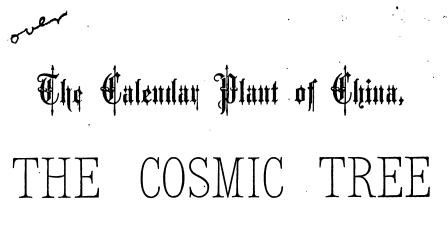




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# AND THE

# DATE PALM OF BABYLONIA,

### ΒY

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# THE CALENDAR PLANT OF CHINA THE COSMIC TREE AND THE DATE-PALM OF BABYLONIA.

1. In my researches on *The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant* of Babylonia and China, published in The Babylonian and Oriental Record<sup>51</sup>, about two years ago, several inaccuracies and misprints have occurred which require rectification, while some papers previously published<sup>52</sup> ought to have been mentioned therein. As some interesting articles<sup>53</sup> and monographs<sup>54</sup> have appeared, since then, and must be referred to, I take this opportunity to return to the subject, in order to correct and complete several statements of my former paper in some respects. Three chief subjects demand once more our consideration, the calendar plant of China, the mythic world-tree, and the names of the date-palm in early Chaldea.

#### Notes-----

- 51) June 1888, vol. II, pp. 149-159.—We continue here the numeral series of the notes for easier references.
- 52) Prof. Eberhard Schrader, Ladanum und Palme auf den Aesyrischen monumenten, with plate: Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss. 5 May, 1881, pp. 413-428.—H. P. Jensen, Ztschrft. f. Keilschriftforschung, I, 285, II, 25. Cf. B.&O.R. IV, 117-118: T. de L., Stray notes on ancient Date Palms in Anterior Asia.—Sir George Birdwood<sup>6</sup> The knop and flower pattern; pp. 325-344 of his interesting work: The Industrial Arts of India, 1884, South Kensington Museum.
- 53) Dr. E. Bonavia, Sacred trees of the Assyrian Monuments; B.&O.R. III, 7-12, 35-40, 56-61; Did the Assyrians know the sexes of date palms; ibid. IV, 64-69, 89-95, 116-117.--M. W. St. Chad Boscawen, Notes on the Assyrian sacred trees: ibid. IV. 95-96.--Dr. E. B. Tylor, The fertilisation of date palms. The Academy, 8 June, 1889, and Nature, 23 Jan. 1890. And also:--T. de L., The cone fruit of the Assyrian Monuments: The Academy, 22 June 1889.--

54) Rev. William Hayes Ward, The asserted sevenfold division of the

Sacred Tree of the Babylonians : Journ. Soc. Bibl. Lit. and Exegesis, June-Dec. 1888, p. 151-5.-J. Edkins, Ancient Symbolism among the Chinese, Shanghai, 1889 .- Cte. Goblet d'Alviella, Les Arbres Paradisiaques des Semites et des Aryas : Bullet. Acad. Roy. Belgique, 3° ser., t. XIX, 1890, pp. 683-679.—J. G. Fraser, The Golden Bough : a study in comparative religion. 2 vols, Macmillan (London, 1890).---E. Bonavia, Bananas and Melons as dessert fruits of Assyrian monarchs and courtiers : B. & O. R. July 1890, vol. IV, pp. 169-173 .--- T. de L., On Eastern names of the Banana: ibid. p. 176.-A. de Gubernatis, Mythologie des Plantes, 2 vols .-- Richard Folkard. jun., Plant Lore, Legends and Lyrics; embracing the Myths, Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore of the Plant kingdom. 1884.-Hilderic Friend, Flowers and Flower-lore, 1884, 2 vols.--James Fergusson, Tree and Serpent worship, 2nd edit. 1873. (some wild speculation spoils this work) .--C. F. P. von Martins. Die Verbreitung der Palmen in der alten Welt mit besonderer Rüksicht auf die Floren-Reiche. München, 1839 .---Wilhelm Mannhardt, Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstamme, Berlin, 1875; Antike Wald-und Feld-kulte aus nordeuropaïscher ueber lieferung erläutert, 1877 .--- C. Bötticher, Ueber den Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer, Berlin, 1856.-A. Bastian, Der Baum in vergleichender Ethnologie : Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychologie, 1868, vol. V .--- F. Lenormant, Origines de l'histoire, 1880, t. I, pp. 74-96.

#### THE CHINESE CALENDAR-PLANT.

2. In my report of the Chinese tradition about the calendar plant of Yao's palace, a full line was dropped by the printer in the making up of the page containing it, and this misprint has thoroughly altered the calendaric character of the plant which it was so important to put forward. Therefore I am compelled to reproduce it in full.

When the Emperor Yao had been on the throne seventy years, . . . a kind of plant, called *lik-kiep* the calendar plant, grew on each side of the palace stairs. On the first day of the month it produced one pod, and so on, every day a pod to the 15th, while on the 16th one pod fell off. und so on, every day a pod<sup>55</sup>, to the last day of the month; and if the month was a short one (of 29 days), one pod shrivelled up, without falling<sup>56</sup>.

3. The description is so precise that no misunderstanding is possible as to the peculiar nature of this fairy shrub, growing pods for a fortnight, and dropping them the following fortnight, in accord with the waxing and waning moon. The denomination of *luk-kiep* or calendaric plant given to it in the Chinese folk-lore shows how well understood was its character from the calendaric aspect.

Some monumental representations of that tree show seven buds on each side,<sup>57</sup> as the total of fourteen is there connected, not with the seven days of the week twice repeated, but with the fourteen days of the half-moon, and

no doubt can be entertained as to the symbolical views underlying this iconography, and loan from the West.

4. The most important feature is the regular number of the pods which does not look anything else than a direct loan from the Assyro-Babylonian imagery of sacred trees. Nowhere does exist a similar legend which might have been the prototype of the Chinese, or its immediate antecedent, or the intermediary between it and the original pictures from where it has been first evolved.

The Persian artists in all that they have borrowed from Babylonia and Susiana, although reproducing the pattern of the sacred tree, have not attached any importance to the number of branches, boughs or pods of the tree as having any symbolism of calendar. Far from that, so far as they ever preserved a regularity in the number of the buds, leaves or fruits of the tree, they seem to have had a preference for the number nine which appears from time to time on the Assyrian iconography, and their reason for that may be the resemblance with the regular number of nine petals or flower leaves of the lotus in Egyptian decoration. The influence of Egypt on Fersia is well known.<sup>58</sup>

5. Therefore it cannot be through the channel of Persian imagery that the Chinese have been made acquainted with that peculiarity of symbolical iconography. It must have come to them in olden times, when the symbolism was in force in Assyro-Babylonia, and most likely at the same time as so many other items of their early civilisation.

In the oldest figuration of the Babylonian sacred tree, the outlines are rough, and the fixed number for branches and offshoots are not strictly observed. The symbolism had not grown as yet to command the iconography; but this was only so in the primitive times, and the sacred numbers of seven, or fourteen, or twenty eight, of twelve or fifteen became afterwards gradually paramount. And, as we are now well aware that the Elamo-Babylonian civilisation was spread to China but some twentyseven centuries or thereabout later than the ancient monuments of Babylonian culture hitherto known, namely those of Lagash *circi* 4000 B.C. there was consequently plenty of time for the calendaric symbolism to have assumed its development and have imposedits sway on Art.

#### Nores----

55) These underlined words are those which were dropped by the printers. The incomplete passage is unhappily that has been referred to by Count Goblet d'Alviella, Les Arbres Paradisiaques, p. 669.

56) Tchu shu ki nien, Part II, 1.—The Kang kien y tchi luh states that

the event took place in the 45th year of the reign of Yao.---Cf. also, Hwang Fu-mi, *Ti wang she ki*: Tai ping yii lan, k. IV, fol. 7 verso. 57) Fung yen-hai and Fung Tsih-hien, *Kin shih so.* 

58) Some traces of this Egyptian influence in Persia have been pointed out in my work on the Origin of the early Chinese Civilisation, Note 364: B.&O.R., vol. III, p. 222; and The Deluge tradition and its remains in ancient China, § 51, note 118: B.&O.R., vol. IV, pp. 109, 110.

#### THE COSMIC TREE.

6. The  $\models \forall \Delta \not \models Gishkin$  in Sumero-Akkadian and Kišhkanû<sup>59</sup>, in Assyrian successively had been supposed to be a pine tree<sup>60</sup>, and a palm-tree<sup>61</sup>, and we had looked upon it with the latter meaning in our paper<sup>62</sup>, but this view must be reconsidered, as this so-called tree does not seem to be open to any botanical identification.

7. The first verse in the bilingual hymn, where it is mentioned, has been rendered variously by several Assyriologists :

For instance :

"In Eridu a stalk grew overshadowing; in a holy place did it become green<sup>63</sup>."

We have objected to the rendering here of Kish-kanû by stalk as being not sufficient.

A more recent version is the following :

"In Iridu wuchs ein dunkler Kiškanū-Baum empor, wurde geschaffen an einem herrlichen (lichten ?) Orte<sup>64</sup>."

We may compare with these the two older versions, which follow :

"Dans Eridou a crû un pin noir, dans un lieu pur il a été formé," where Fr. Lenormant, author of the version<sup>65</sup>, has remarked that his rendering of the second part of the verse is made quite safe by the Akkadian text. "In Nun-ki (Eridu) wuchs aus ein dunkler *Kin*-Baum, an einem reinen Ort wurde er geschaffen," by Prof. Fritz Hommel.<sup>66</sup>

Whatever may be the slight discrepancies between the different renderings we have quoted, it is evident that no botanical characteristics may be made out from them.

8. The hieroglyphical etymology of the word, so far as it can be understood from the hieratic, does not mean much, as we have no evidence that the actual signs of the combination Gissu + Kikkinu, are identical, save the difference of style in the writing, with those of the hieratic period, neither are we certain that the primary meaning of the symbol read Kanu was still known at the time of formation of the complex ideogram. We do not even know if the combination existed at all in hieratic times<sup>67</sup>. Therefore any attempt at hieroglyphical etymology in

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this, as in the similar cases, must be taken with some reservation. It is made of the sign for wood GISSU, the same that is employed frequently in later (?) times as a silent determinative. The second symbol KIKKINU looks like a corruption of a pictorial sign of an enclosure filled up or with inside partitions. It has nine non-Semitic<sup>68</sup>, and no less than twentytwo Semitic values<sup>69</sup>, with a general idea underlying them of circular foundation.

Coupled together, they form a complex ideogram for which two readings are indicated; Kishkanû and Usurtu<sup>70</sup>; the latter indicates a born or a foundation. Joined with the necessary words this compound ideogram appears in a list<sup>71</sup> as Kishkanu pişû, Kishkanu salmi and Kishkanu sâmi, otherwise, Kishkanu white, black, and blue.

9. Therefore the *Kishkanu* cannot be a tree, and the composition of the expression by which it is called shows itself not to have been framed in view of designating a real tree. The decipherers Assyriologists will have to reconsider their rendering of the verse we have quoted, so far as it was understood as referring to the growing of a tree. The *Kishkanu* was most probably a central pole, (like that of a tent, for a tent-inhabiting population), whence it was taken to be the main-staff, and in mythology the central pillar (of the world). Its conception in that sense is fully explained by the following statements, of the bilingual hymn previously referred to, as follows: "Its fruit<sup>72</sup>? was of (jade<sup>73</sup> or) white crystal which stretched towards the deep !" . . . . "Its seat was the (central) place? of the carth ; "Its folinge (? or summit) was the couch of Zikum<sup>74</sup> the (primeval) mother." . . . . (There is the home) of the mighty mother who passes across the sky. In the midst of it was Tammuz. There is the shrine ?) of the two (gods<sup>75</sup>.")

10. No possible doubt can remain now that the *Kishkanu* is not the tree of life that is figured on so many monuments of Babylonia and Assyria. It is the world-tree, the pillar of the word, the great shaft which unites heaven and earth in the mythological conceptions of more than one of the nations of old. Its nearest congener were the star-bearing world-tree of the Finns<sup>76</sup> and the similar conception though of late derivation of the Tartar tribes of Minussinsk<sup>77</sup>.

11. The mythical view of the Chaldean poet was apparently the outcome of a popular idea, current in his time, which in a lesser state of development was brought into the country by the Altaic speaking Sumerians. Once embodied into poetry and therefore more easily present to the mind of cultured people, its influence on the folk-lore and formation of myths

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amongst other nations was possible, and in that respect it may have followed the spread of the Chaldman civilisation. We may be sure that it spread further still, as experience has shown that mythology and folk-lore being among the most subtle parts of a civilisation, travel wide and afar much more easily than the other parts, which more substantial so to speak, cannot be grasped with the same facility. And as the communications by chance or sought for, isolate or repeated, which have happened in the course of ancient times from one to another part of the world are not known all, it is sheer imprudence to speak of the independent rising and appearance of identical conceptions and myths in various countries<sup>78</sup>. In the immature state of our knowledge of antiquity, before inferring from such a similarity some big conclusions as to the nature of the human mind, it would be much wiser by far to be satisfied with the ascertaining of the facts.

12. The world-tree, or heaven's-pillar of Eridu, seems to have worked upon the Egyptian conception of the Tat-pillar<sup>79</sup>, and the matter deserves to be the object of further investigation. In the same way a Chaldæan influence may be thought, either for the source or the cause of transformation of former and more rude ideas, in many cases of mythological conceptions, folk-lore, and of tree-worship. But the distinction, although often forgotten, must be preserved between the notion of the world-tree and that of the tree-of-life. At first the notion was indistinct, and the Chaldæan conception in the hymn of Eridu belongs to that period. But a distinction grew gradually in considering the cosmic tree under these two aspects<sup>80</sup>, and although the distinct conceptions of a world-tree and of a tree of life have always shown a tendency to fuse together, they have also been preserved more or less apart in some mythologies.

13. Let us remember here as instances of world-tree<sup>81</sup>:

The Khanbe of the Airyana-Vaedja, begirt with the starry girdle of the Iranians<sup>32</sup>; the world-pillar of the Rig-Veda<sup>83</sup>; the star-bearing ashvattha of the Hindus, whose original symbolism seems to be lost;<sup>84</sup> the winged oak of the Phœnicians, as described by Pherecydes<sup>85</sup>; the *yggdrasil* of Norse mythology<sup>86</sup>; the *Irmensul* of the ancient Saxons<sup>87</sup>; and others. The antecedent of these conceptions is found in the cosmic tree, so represented with the winged-sun above it, on the cylinders and on the monuments of Khorsabad<sup>88</sup>.

14. So far as we know, the Chaldzean conception is the oldest. Embodied in literature, it has been spread largely, and thus far has given rise to several conceptions somewhat similar, which no eptions spread in their turn have suggested elsewhere related myths, and so forth further on with gradual divergences leading to final discrepancies; we cannot, however, as yet maintain that it is the parent-stem, or the prototype, direct or indirect, of every one of the many myths of the kind, found so extensively. The matter requires more extensive research and, to begin with, a chronological and genealogical classification of the world-tree myths hitherto known.

Norrs-

- 59) R. Brunnow, Classified List, No. 8536.
- 60) By F. Lenormant, Les origines de l'histoire, II, 104.
- 61) By Prof. Fritz Hommel, Die Semitischen Völker, I, 406, who compared with name that of mushu-kannu of Prof. Eb. Schrader, as a dialectal variant.
- 62) Part I, and notes 4 sq.
- 63) A. H. Sayce, Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, p. 238.
- 64) P. Jensen, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, p. 249. The learned author, ibid, has endeavoured to show, from phonetic affinities, his reason to look upon it as an 'Orakelbaum.'-Dendrolatry had led to philomancy which was a part of Chaldcan mantology.
- 65) Les Origines de l'histoire, 1882, t. II, p. 104.
- 66) Die Semitschen Völker und Sprachen, p. 406.
  67) There is no such cridence amongst the inscriptions from Lagash.
- 68) The non-semitic are : gur, ghar, ghir, ghur. ir, ur, kin, kikkin and mur.
- 69) The Semitic values are the following (with probable meanings); esênu, vault ; esêru, bracelet ; ghâru, ? to dig ; ghalásu, ? tower, citadel; gharru, cavern, hollow; ghashû, liver; ghubûlu,? valley,? pledge; kabidu, : considerable ; kadådu, ? signature ; kapru, great, high ; kima, i thus. so ; kirbu, centre ; kishkânu ; libbu, heart ; parâșu, command ; ramimu, greater ; shémiru, diamond ; tertu, body ; tulimu, tultu ; umma sha êrê ; uşurtu. born, foundation.
- 70) R. Brunnow, Class. List, Nos. 8536+8545.
- 71) W.A.I. II, 45, 52-55.
- 72) Prof. Sayce reads (sur) sum and translates root. Cf. his edition of G. Smith's Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 87, and Lect. Relig. Anc. Bab. p. 238. François Lenormant understood fruit instead of root, cf. his Origines de l'histoire, t. II, p. 104, and his translation is supported by the parallelism of the following verses. Mr. St. Chad Boscawen: Modern Thought, July 18 83, p. 327, reads also fruit.
- 73) Cf. note 49 of my first paper. 74) The mother of Ea was Zikum or Zigarum, the heaven (W.A.I. II, 48, 26; 50, 27), whom a mythological list describes as "the mother that has begotten heaven and earth" (W.A.I. 11, 54, 18). Vid. A. H. Sayce, Lect. Relig. Anc. Bab. pp. 374-5. The same scholar, ibid. has suggested the identification of Zikum with the known goddess Bahu.

- 75) A. H. Sayce, ibid. p. 238.
- 76) In the Kalevala, trans. A. Schiefner, Helsingfors, 1852, Rune X, 31-42; W. F. Warren, Paradise found, p. 276.
- 77) A. Schiefner, Heldensagen der Minussinischen Tataren, p. 62 sq.; Lenormant, Origines, t. I, p. 76.-Cf. also among Ugrian tribes, O. Peschel, Races of man, p. 406.-It is not unlikely that such notions were introduced there through the Iranians and afterwards through the Buddhists.
- 78) Part similarities, resemblances and coincidences are too often looked upon as identities. Yet it is certainly an exagerated opinion of their knowledge, this view of many a folk-lorist of the present day, when being apparently satisfied that they know the last word of ancient history with regard to intercommunications, migrations and displacements of populations, they think possible to draw conclusions as if unheard - of interchanges were historically proved to be impossibilities.
- 79) On which cf. C. P. Tiele, History of the Egyptian Religion, 46-47; Brugsch, Astronomische and Astrologische Inschriften, p. 72 .--Dr. W. F. Warren, Paradise found, p. 265, has rightly objeated to the cloud interpretation proposed by Mr. LePage Renouf, in his paper on Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud; Trans. S.B.A. 1884, pp. 217-220.
- 80) For instance in Genesis II, 9 there are two trees, while in II, 17 and III, 36, there is only one.
- 81) As instances of the Tree-of-life, let us remember the following : " the fig-tree which distils the soma," and "the tree of life, ilyovrikshah," of the celestial world, in the Tchandogya (VIII, 5, 3) and the Kanshîtaki (I, 3) Upanishads; the Kalpavrikshas of the classical literature of India ; and the Djambu tree, south of the Meru, whose knowledge has been carried to China by the Buddhists, the Bodhi tree of the latter; the Setarran of the Mendaïtes; &c.
- 82) Bundehesh, XXIX, XXX; Homa yasht 26.
- 83) Cf. Rig-Veda, X, 81, 4. and other passages on which cf. Julius Grill, Die Erzväter der Menscheit, Leipzig, 1875, vol. I, pp. 358-9.
- 84) Guigniaut, Religions de l'Antiquité, vol. I, p. 157, and vol. 1V, pl. II, fig. 16.
- 85) A. Maury, Religions de la Grèce Antique, vol. III, p. 253 .-- Lenormant, Origines de l'histoire, t. I, p. 96.
- 86) Cf. C. F. Keary, Outlines of Primitive Belief, 1882, p. 57.
  87) Cf. J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 759.—Thorpe, Northern Mythology, vol. I, p. 155.-Finn Magnusen, Den Aeltre Edda, Copenhagen, 1822, vol. II, p. 61.-Hindu and other influences in occurrences unknown to history have carried similar conceptions of a world-tree and tree of life in Indonesia and Polynesia.
- 88) Perrot & Chipiez, Histoire de l'art, t. II, fig. 343.-Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. 49, fig. 9, pl. 61, fig. 6.
- 89) Ibid. t. II, fig. 444; from Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, ser. I, pl. 51.
- 90) Prof. Finzi, Ricerche per lo studio dell'Antichità Assyria, Turin, 1872, p. 553, n., has suggested an Aryan and particularly an Iranian influence for the origin of the sacred tree of the Assyrian monuments. But since then the progress of research has shown that this view is untenable.

### THE NAMES OF THE DATE-PALM IN ANCIENT CHALDREA.

15. The symbol  $\bigstar$  MU, which in its hieratic form represents visibly a tree<sup>91</sup> with its branches and with offsets at the foot, as is the case with female date-palms<sup>92</sup>, was, it seems to me, the original sign for date-palm tree.

A tablet, from the library of Assurbanipal, published in the collection of the British Museum<sup>93</sup> and perhaps a copy of a much older document<sup>94</sup> of about 2000 B.C., already referred to in the B.&O.R., gives the words zikaru for male and zinnishtu for f emale date-palms<sup>95</sup>. Gishimmaru, as we shall see below, is a general name for date-palm without distinction of sexes, and a name whose written form, far from being primitive, is a late one. It has the two readings just quoted only when written in combination and with the addition of the determinatives NITAGHU for male, and GIMU for female, which themselves are espectively read thus zikaru and zinnishtu<sup>96</sup> and give their sounds to the group, while gishimmaru is silent.

Mu, on the other hand, has a primitive form whose hieratic shape is known and represents a tree; two of his readings are *zikaru*, *zikru*<sup>97</sup>, same as that of the la e compound ideogram for male date palm, aforesaid. The general range of its meanings implies greatness and famousness; heaven, king, name, rise are amongs tits acceptations, and *zikaru* by itself means famous, great, and male.

16. It seems therefore that the date-palm, in its quality of the tree par excellence of the country was looked upon in early times as the kingly, heavenly, great and renowned tree, and accordingly received from the Semitic population<sup>98</sup> the name of *zikaru*. From the pictorial evidence this sign we was applied more especially to the fruit-bearing or female tree, as we may infer from the offsets carefully drawn at the foot, although the non-figuration of the hanging fruits suggests that it may have been as well applied to the male-tree. This would refer to a time anterior to the knowledge of the distinction of sexes which had not been reached as yet during the Pre-semitic period of Chaldman civilisation. The Sumero-Akkadian word was Mu.

17. Some confirmatory evidence of this view may be found in the following facts. At Bussorah, a word for date-palm, according to Niebuhr<sup>99</sup>, is *aschkar* which may be compared to the Assyrian *zikaru*. In the Mekran dialect, E. of the Persian gulf, the general word<sup>100</sup> is *Mogh* or

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Moch, while at Bagdad one of the terms used is Mekkarri; both names remind the Sumerian Mu.

In his *Glossairs Assyrien*, Fr. Lenormant has rendered<sup>101</sup> a word *sigaru* as date-wine.

Nu is the initial symbol of Musukkan, palm-tree as we shall see further on.

18. A name for palm-tree in general seems to have been Musukkan  $[N] \land [N] \models [m]$  which occurs in the inscriptions discovered in the foundations of Khorsabad Palace. It was translated at first by tamarisk<sup>103</sup>, but subsequently, this rendering was objected to, and it was suggested<sup>103</sup> that the tree thus named was the palm-tree. The spelling of Musukkan is late and entirely Assyrian ; it may be a corruption or a Semitised form of an old Sumerian word.

It has been looked upon<sup>104</sup> as a late alteration of a dialectic variant of *kishkanu*. An objection to this view would be that the latter word was not a name for the palm-tree; but it is not impossible that the word may have been occasionally applied to that tree in after times because of its great importance for the population of the country. The explanation being unsatisfactory, it has been suggested that, the regular name for date-palm being now known as gishimmaru, the word musukkan was simply a name for the palm-tree in general<sup>105</sup>. Let us remark in favour of this view that the initial syllabic sign of Musukkan is no other than the symbol Mu which we have come to consider as the original one for the date-palm.

19. On the other hand the sign  $GIGU - \prod A^{106}$  which I had suggested to be a palm-tree, with reference to its use with the sound gi in *Ki-en* $gi^{107}$  turns out to be only a part of the tree, and especially the trunk of the palm-tree as we shall see below. It is roughly figured on ancient cylinders<sup>106</sup>, and the comparison of the monuments from Telloh, shows that the original position of the symbol, as adverted by M. Pinches was left to top, the upper part being the horizontal stroke, and not the reverse.

Its identification is difficult. When preceded of the determinative of trees, it was read  $A b u^{109}$ . The meaning of the latter being generally 'father,' it is difficult to explain how it could be so in the present case, unless it be as a descriptive term of the father as the trunk, or better the main stay of a family, because the symbol, among other readings has those of kånu, read, sabatu, staff, shimtu, foundation, &c.

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20. Now examining its oldest graphical form<sup>110</sup> from the pictorial aspect, it seems probable that it was intended to represent a tree with the upper part, i.e. the leaves cut-off and the offsets grown at the foot<sup>11</sup>, while the dates-fruits which stand under the leaves are left for easier identification of the image, and a top line horizontal endingthefigure shows the special object of the pictogram to be the trunk, and not the whole tree with its branches. On some cylinders this top-line is shaped like a crescent, of the moon ? in religious scenes<sup>112</sup>, as if taken for a figure of the world tree and pillar of heaven, for which Kishkanu was the special term.

In itself the symbol GIGU meant simply at the beginning, the trunk or stem of a palm tree, and a confirmatory evidence is given by the symbol GIL, which was formed originally of two GIGU crossing one the other obliquely<sup>113</sup>, and meant agu upwards, napraku, cross-bar, sikuru enclosing, among others<sup>114</sup>.

Nores-

- 91) Amiaud-Méchineau, Tableau comparé, No. 12.-T. de L., The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivates, 1888, par. 36.
- 92) Cf. E. Bonavia, Did the Assyrians know the sexes of the dute-palms? pp. 65-66 : B.&O.R. 1890, vol. IV.
- 93) W.A.I., II, 46, l. 29, 30. -R. Brunnow, Classified List, 7293-4.
- 94) Theo. G. Pinches, MS. note, 22 March, 90.
- 95) They are indicated by the ideogram otherwise read GISHIMMAR (cf. § 21) with the addition of the determinative for male or that for female, and the silent prefix of *(rees.*
- 96) R. Brunnow, Class. List. 1237-8.
- 97) R. Brunnow, Class. List. 5048-9, 10920.
- 98) A. V. Kremer, Semitische Culturentlehnungen aus dem Tier- und Pflanzen-reiche : Ausland, 1875, has shown that the Semites before their dispersion were acquainted with the camel, but that the palm and ostrich were unknown to them.
- 99) Reisebeschreibung, 1778, t. II, p. 225-226. 100) C. Ritter, Erdkunde, XIII, p. 788.
- 101) Glossaire Assyrien, p. 268; E. de Chossat, Répertoire Assyrien, p. 151.
- 102) J. Oppert, Expedition scientifique en Mésopotamie, 1858, t. II, p. 344.
- 103) By Prof. Eberhard Schrader : Monatsber. der Berl. Akad. d. W. 5 Mai, 1881.
- 104) By Prof.Fr. Hommel, Die Semitischer Volker, p. 406.
- 105) By Dr. P. Jensen, De incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum serici quae dicitur 'surbu' tabula VI: Ztschrft. f. Keilschriftfors., 1885, vol. II, p. 25.
- 106) R. Brunnow, Class. List, No. 2383 sq.
- 107) The tree of life, note 2.

- 108) Cf. for instance, Longpérier, Notice des Monuments, No. 540.—J. Ménant, Glyptique Orientale, vol. I, fig. 71; Catalogue de la Collection De Clerg, t. I, pl. 31, fig. 330.—Inscription of Uru Kagina and of Gudea, in Amiaud-Méchineau, Tableau comparé, No. 267.
- 109) Brunnow's List, No. 2386.
- 110) Cf. Amiaud et Méchineau, Tableau comparé, No. 267.
- 111) Cf. suprà, par. 15.—These offsetts are shown to be blown partly off in the symbol zi spirit, derived from the preceeding, and where the wind is shown browing on them. Cf. the oldest form in Amiaud, O.C. No. 269.
- 112) Of. J. Ménant, l.c. note suprd.---Perrot and Chipicz, Histoire del' Art, t. II, pl. 342.
- 113) Amiaud and Méchineau, Tableau Comparé, No. 268.
- 114) Brunnow, Class. List, 1386-1401.

21. We have already mentioned<sup>115</sup> that gishimmaru firstimeterizeting has been recognized as the most common appellative of the date-palm.<sup>116</sup> It has two general meanings; that which was supposed to be, a stem, or trunk of a tree,<sup>117</sup>, previously to its final recognition as a date-palm, agreeably with a suggestion of Dr. J. Oppert<sup>118</sup>, and of which the Sumero-Akkadian value was gishimmar<sup>119</sup>. The other meaning was that of auspicious, fortunate, good, which alone occurs in the inscriptions of Urba'u and of Gudea<sup>120</sup>, and of which the readings were shinga, shag in Sumero-Akkadian and damâku, damêu and dumêu in Assyrian. Shanga was however applied to the date-palm by the Pre-Semites, as shown by the fact that such readings was applied to this symbol when prefixed with the determinative gish of trees<sup>121</sup>. The auspicious tree was indeed a proper appellative for a tree which was so valuable for the population of the country.

22. The oldest form known of this symbol is not primitive like that of  $Mu^{129}$ , but a complex<sup>123</sup> apparently of two signs; as they are rather fused together, we may not venture to mention them otherwise than as a suggestion. They are placed one above the other. The upper one seems to be an old form of  $are sa^{124}$  which is a frequent initial symbol of complex. ideograms for names of trees, parts of trees and the like<sup>125</sup>. The Sumerian value sa is explained by the words kurnu and shétu<sup>126</sup>; the first appears in the Sumerian term kurnu gi, i.e. the land of no return, where gi=land, in Assyrian irsit lā târat<sup>127</sup>; the second has been shown to be connected with Hebrew shéd, idol and the Syriac shida, demon<sup>128</sup>. The second and lower symbol of this oldest form is<sup>139</sup> and the former and to show with the latter sound, but GAB was certainly

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that in view when the complex ideogram was framed. Now let us remark that this sound was also a Semitic reading for this symbol, and that the Assyrian word gab means to speak, word, promise<sup>131</sup>, &c.  $S_A + c_A$ , the latter suggested by gab, were therefore the phonetic indication of the aforesaid readings shanga or shag for the whole<sup>132</sup>. We must take this apparently as another instance of the system of approximative renderings in phono-ideograms which we are accustomed with in the ideographic writing of the Chinese. The identity of the Sumerian and Chinese processes which has been already pointed out in several of my works, is the regular outcome of the derivation of the early Chinese writ ing from the Archaic Babylonian.

23. A singular resemblance with China calls here our attention. It occurs with the names of the calendar plant in China Lik-kep and Mik-kep described in our former paper or the subject, (part \*\*).

The sounds of the two component parts of the ideogram SHANGA, we have just examined, present the affinities in question. The first sa has among other Assyro-Babylonian readings those of riksu. and markasu<sup>183</sup>, bond or lien, and the second whose old forms are much like a representation of shrubs<sup>134</sup> is gab or kap. Now folk etymology in its happygo-lucky ignorance among the less-cultured populations of the eastern part of the country, seems to have made light of the reasons, undoubtedly strong, which caused the scribes to read shanga or kishimmaru the complex ideogram formed with the two symbols aforesaid. Markasu-kap and Riksu-Rap, shortened by the simple dropping of the final syllable su of the first word, make Mark-kap, and Rik-kap, and were so, most probably the antecedents of the terms learned by the BAK families civilisers of the Chinese, which we have found as Mik-kep and Lik-kep anciently in the Flowery land, with the unexplained meaning of Auspicious or felicitous plant. As we have hadbefore several occasions to ascertain that the Chaldwo-Elamite civilisation was learned by the civilisers of the Chinese from popular intercourse and not from scientific teaching, the present case cannot be a coïncidence, considering the large number of proofs of various kinds which has established the historical fact of a considerable loan of culture from Babylonia and Elam in the early Chinese civilisation.

24. Let us return to the word *shanga*. Its meaning has thus been made pretty clear in the sense of Auspicious or good omen which we had

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seen before, and its application to the valuable date-palm, the most useful tree of the land, shows that its importance was fully appreciated by the scribes<sup>1,35</sup>.

The palm-tree seems to have always been the object of a special cult in S.W. Asia. Its sacred character among the Assyro-Babylonians is plainly <sup>8</sup>hown by the name we have just seen given to it. And the fact that we have been able to show three names for it, a primitive symbol MU or *Zikaru*, besides the qualitive term SHANGA or *Gishimmar*, and another word *musukkan* for palm-tree in general, is significant with regard to the great value attached to it by the founders of the Chaldæo-Babylonian civilisation.

The Phoenicians appear to have worshipped it to a certain extent<sup>136</sup>, but it is chiefiy in Southern Arabia that its cult was the most deeply established. It lasted until the time of Muhammed<sup>137</sup>.

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- 115) Cf. suprà, par. 15.
- 116) Theo. G. Pinches, Sign-List, No. 246.—P. Jensen, Ztschriftf., Keilschriftf., t. II, p. 25.-B. & O. R., vol. IV. p. 118.
- 117) A. H. Sayce, Assyrian Grammar, No. 319.-Fr. Lenormant, Glossaire Assyrien, No. 232.
- 118) Ztschrft. f. Keilschriftf., I, p. 55.
- 119) R. Brunnow, Class. List, No. 7284, sq.
- 120) On a statue of Urba'u, col. 5, l. 9: Records of the Past, N. S., vol. I, p. 77; on Gudea's statue D, col. 8, l. 14: *ibid.* vol. II, p. 91; on statue E, col. 1, l. 2: *ibid.* p. 92; on statue H, col. 1, l. 2: *ibid.* p. 108.
- 121) R. Brunnow, Class. List, No. 7285.
- 122) Suprà, par. 15, 16.
- 123) Amiaud-Méchineau, Tableau comparé, No. 278.
- 124) Amiaud, O. C., No. 128.
- 125) R. Brunnow, Class. List, sign. GITU, SAGITU, No. 3068. It occurs in twenty such cases.
- 126) R. Brunnow, Class. List, Nos. 3070, 3077, 3083.
- 127) W. A. I., II, 32, 19; 48, 7 f; IV, 31, 1a; P. Jensen, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, pp. 218, 232.
- 128) F. Hommel, Semit. Völk., p. 368.
- 129) Cf. the oldest form in Amiaud et Méchineau, Tableau comparé, No. 45.
- 130) R. Brunnow, Class. List, Nos. 4469-4492.
- 181) G. Schrader, Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschr. p. 186; J. Ménant, Grammaire Assyrienne, p. 171, 205; J. Oppert and J. Ménant, Documents juridiques, p. 47; E. de Chossat, Répertoire Assyrien, p. 79.
- 132) It is not uninteresting to remark that, although the word intended to be suggested phonetically is Altaic, the script-play was made by Semites.
- 188) Brunnow, Class. List. Nos. 8080-8082.
- 184) Amiaud, Tableau, No. 45.

135) On the great usefulness of the date palm tree, cf. E. Bonavia, The sacred trees of the Assyrian monument:s B. & O. R., III, 9 and 59.
136) W. Baudissin, Studien zur Semiti schen Religionsgeschichte, t. II, p. 201 sq., 211 sq.
137) Caussin de Perceval, Histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme, t. I, p. 125, 236; Osiander. Ztschrft. d. D. M. G., t. VII, p. 481; Krehl, Heber die Religion der por-islamischen Araber. p. 73 sq.: Dozy Die Ueber die Religion der vor-islamischen Araber, p. 73 sq.; Dozy, Die Israēliten zu', Mekka, p. 19; Fresnel: Journal Asiatique, Jan.-Fev. 1871, p. 51 sq.; Fr. Lenormant, Origines de l'histoire, t. I, p. 82.

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25. Chaldæa has never been a richly worded land, and the oldest information we gather from the inscriptions about the trade of the country concerns chiefly the importation of timber. In the various texts inscribed on his statues, Gudea, the Patesi of Lagash, in the fourth millennium B.C., boasts of his deeds under that respect<sup>138</sup>. Cedar wood or *erinu*, from Amanu in Northern Syria was sent to him in joists of 70, 50 or 25 spans. Zabanum, shaku<sup>149</sup>, tubulum and gin trees were cut for him, near the city of Ursu, in the regions of the Upper Euphrates. Kala trees<sup>140</sup>, from Melughgha, in the vicinity of the Sinaitic peninsula, and ghaluku or ghalup<sup>141</sup> wood, to make pillars, from Qubin in the Red sea, were sent to him<sup>142</sup>. All this shows how these rulers in Chaldæa were little provided with the wood and timber required for their constructions.

26. Examined critically from a botanical standing<sup>143</sup> the iconography of the sacred trees on the monuments of Assyro-Babylonia exhibits six forms of them ; but as the artists have greatly indulged upon their creative imagination in often amalgamating the characteristics of the various sorts of trees with which they were acquainted, none of their figures are true to nature. The task of a botanist was therefore difficult in dissassociating that which the artists had so cleverly woven together. We are indebted to Dr. Bonavia for his researches in that direction. From his remarks we know now that the Assyro-Babylonians were well acquainted with three sorts of trees, the palm-tree, the vine, the pomegranate, and that besides they had a slight knowledge of the fir-tree<sup>144</sup>.

27. The palm-tree has been largely dealt with, but we have still to examine the Vine in its relation with the Tree of life. Premature speculation had seen in the name geshtin a compound expression of wood, tree gesh, gish, and life tin, and therefore the proper term tree-of-life supposed to have been abusively applied to the vine<sup>145</sup>. But now we

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28. Pomegranate tree is another of those which are said to have been indigenous in Assyro-Babylonia, or at least in a surrounding country, but we do not know the proper name for  $it^{155}$ . On the monuments it appears, so far as we know, in a few cases only, and in late times<sup>156</sup>, such as the age of Sargon II, i.e. the VIIIth century.

29. Iconography shows that the Assyro-Babylonians had but a scanty knowledge of the fir-tree, and we do not know the name they eventually gave to it<sup>157</sup>. Such a result of recent research shows how baseless were the previous speculations attaching great importance to that special tree among the conceptions of the early Babylonians. As a fact they were not acquainted with it until the campaigns of the Assyrian conquerors in Urartu.

tree actually growing under the eyes of the scribes who were the first to frame the complex ideogram.

31. The sense they have endeavoured to inculcate, by an appropriate selection of two simple ideograms formerly in use. corresponds unto a certaid extent to the mythical ideas which are exposed in a magic text bilingual. Ea describes to Merodach<sup>164</sup> the means whereby he is to cure a man who is possessed of the seven evil spirits, and advises him to go first to the cedar tree "upon whose core the name of Ea is recorded."<sup>165</sup> These notions and ideas must have been brought into civilised Babylonia from the North under Sumerian influence, and the special character we have described was composed accordingly. The idea still prevalent with several writers that the cedar tree was the tree-of-life has not been confirmed by a botanical examination of the iconography of the sacred trees. Confirmatory evidence of the non-primitiveness of the idea amongst the Babylonians, shows that the documents where the cedar is looked upon as endowed with so great a virtue do not belong to nor represent the earliest views of the Chaldæo-Babylonians.

Notes----

- 138) Notably in his inscription B. Cf. A. Amiaud, Inscriptions of Telloh,
- pp. 79-82: Records of the Past, N. S., vol. II.
- 139) In Assyrian ashûhu.
- 140) In Assyrian ushu.
- 141) In Assyrian huluppu, None of the names in Sumero-Akkadian are written with single or complex ideograms.
- 142) We had already occasion to mention this in our paper On an unknown King of Lagash of 6000 years ago, the primitive commerce and beginnings of the Chaldæan civilisation—§ 13, n. 32: B. & O. R. IV. 193-195.
- 143) By a learned collaborateur and botanist, Dr. E. Bonavia in his paper on The sacred Trees of the Assyrian Documents : B. & O. R. III.
- 144) E. Bonavia, l. c., pp. 7, 10, 38, 56.
- 145) F. Lenormant, Etude sur quelques parties des syllabaires cuneiformes, ch. X; Origines de l'histoire, t. I, p. 85.
- 146) Cf. T. G. Pinches, Sign-list, No. 76, 76 a.
- 147) Cf. Egyptian Kerāmā, Hebrew Karmu. vineyard, Greek Karoinou. also E. de Rougé, Origine de l'alphabet Phénicien, p. 46.
- 148) Brun. 5007.
- 149) Brun. 5118.—Amiaud, Tableau, No. 75.
- 150) Cf. our Chips of Babylonian and Chinese Palæography, III, when the Chinese derivate character is indicated.
- 151) Shikaru, previously quoted in these pages (§ 16) and which Prof. Sayce, Assyrian Grammar, No. 197 translates beer, while Mr. T. G. Pinches, Sign-list, 76, makes it (intoxicating) drink.

- 152) A. Amiaud, Tableau, No. 135.--Brun. 9852.--Unless it may be
- explained by a comparison in Simeone Levi's list of hieratic signs, No. 93. 153) Col. II, l. 17. In several forms. Cf. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 375, 411, 412.
- 154) A. Griesbach, Die Vegetation der Erde, I, 323, holds that the dense forests of the Pontus and Thrace up to the Danube, a district particularly rich in creeping plants, were the original home of the ritis vinifera, from where it would have been carried east. A. De Candolle, Origin of cultivated plants, p. 194, at a later date, insists on the Transcaucasian provinces of Russia, where it is found wild and indigenous .---For its representation in the Assyro-Babylonian monuments, cf. Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, t. II, fig. 212, 237, 267, 317 The Bak families, civilisers of China, seem to have carried away with them a sort of vine, that which grows in the north of China and which Regel, Acta Hortis Imp. Petrop. 1873, considers as identical in species with our own vine. It is named Vitis Amurensis, Ruprecht, and its appearance differs. Cf. A. de Candolle, Origin of cultivated Plants, p. 194. The cultivation of this vine was not encouraged and did not develope in China, as shown by the following legend which is given in the Tchen Kwoh ts'eh, a work partly older than the Han dynasty. "The Emperor's (Shun) daughter commanded I Ti to make wine, and it was good. She gave of it to Yii (the Great), who, when he had tasted of it, poured the liquid upon the ground, and sent I Ti in banishment, and forbade the knowledge of wine." Cf. Mayers' Chinese R. M. I, 230. The invention of wine from the grain of rice is attributed in China to a certain Tu K'ang, whose name is sometimes confounded with that of Shao K'ang, of the Hia dynasty, O. C. 682.-The introduction of the real vine from the west was made by Tchang Kien in 122 B.C., who said that its name was p'u-tao; this is a transcription, approximate as Chinese orthography permits, of a loan word belonging to the same group as Zend vaeti, Huzvaresh vit, Latin vitis. On the latter words cf. Spiegel in Kuhn's Ztschr. V, 320; A. Pictet, Les Aryas Primitifs, I, 253.
- 155) In Arabic Rûman, Hebrew Rimmon, whence Portuguese Rumaus; Greek Roia, sidai, Albanian Sige; Turk. anâr, Hindi Anaar, Persian Annar; Sanskrit Darimba; Hindi Darim, Telugu Dadima, Malay Dalima, Tamil Madalum; Singhalese Delunghidie; Javanese Gangsalun; Chinese Nganshihliu; &c.
- 156) In three cases only. On a basrelief Sargon is figured holding a branch of three pomegranates. A full tree with fifteen fruits is figured on a cylinder of a certain Musesinip of the same period. Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, t. 11, fig. 285, 343. A similar tree appears on a cylinder in Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, 49, 9.
- 157) Cf. suprà, § 6.
- 158) Arabic sarwat, Turkish serv azad.
- 159) Brun. 10802, Amiaud 295, Sayce 493.
- 160) Inscriptions, statue B, col. 5, l. 19, 28, 29. 31. 45; statue D, col. 2, l. 10. And supra, § 25.
- 161) In suggesting that a comparison was made between the minute and numerous foliage of the cedar and the appearance of the warp and woof, we were guided by the cuneiform style of the character whose first part

looks like the sign SIG cloth, Brun. 10775. It is one more proof that no etymologies can be established on that style of writing.

162) Brun. 10747, Amiaud 294, Sayce 485, Pinches 229. Cf. T. de L., The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivates, par. 38.

163) Brun. 2620, Amiaud 29, Sayce 66, Pinches 42. The archaic form of the character must not be mistaken for that of URASH Y, Brun.

10474, Am. 277, Sayce 483, Pinches 219.

164) A. H. Sayce, *Reli. Anc. Babylon*, p. 240.
165) W. A. I., IV, 15, rev. 10-13; cf. IV, 16, 2; IV, 29, 1, 29-31.— Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Origines de Phistoire*, I, 84-5, note.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

32. The results, we have arrived at in the foregoing pages, must be viewed, with reference to our former paper on the same subject, from the double stand point of our researches, so far as they suggest or confirm anything new, or rectify any previous opinion, concerning :  $1^{\circ}$ ) the beginnings of the Babylonian culture, and  $2^{\circ}$ ) the later loan of some items of that culture to the ancient Chinese.

83. The Chinese felicitous plant mik-kep or lik-kep has been shown to be more completely a calendar plant than the quotation of the legend, truncated by misprint in our first paper, had lead my readers to expect. (§§ 1-5). And the curious resemblance which those name bear with two possible readings, probably regional of the Babylonian name of the datepalm, enhance the testimony of iconography as to the derivation of the Chinese notion from S.W. Asia. (§ 23).

34. Furthermore, as the Bak families civilisers of China, did carry with them the knowledge of a sort of vine, and as this knowledge was not primitive amongst the Babylonians, it follows that they did not migrate eastwards, from the neighbourhood of the Chaldæo-Elamite cultured populations, previously to the spread of that knowledge among the latter. (§ z7 and note 154).

85. With reference to the beginnings of Babylonian civilisation, our results, chiefly of a botanical and palæographical character, fully confirm our views as to the Southern, and not Northern origin, of the creators of the Chaldæan culture. Kishkin has proved to be, not the date palm as we had suggested, but the very term for a central pillar, and in mythological conceptions the Tree of the world (§§ 6-14). Gigu, whose nature had been left uncertain, has been shown to be the trunk of the palm-tree (§§ 19-20; while Musukkan was a general name for that tree itself (§ 18), and Shanga or Gishimmaru, for the date-palm in general (§§ 21-3, 24), the original name and primitive pictorial

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character for that tree being Mu which therefore was known to the creators of the writing, (§§ 15-17). On the other hand, the Vine and the Cedar are represented by compound characters and do not belong to the primitive period; in the same way the pomegranate and the fir-tree were only known in later times; all this forming undoubtedly one more link of arguments in favour of the view that the first founders and creators of the Chaldæo-Babylonian writing and civilisation were not originally from the North or North East, but from the South,

#### ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA-

Note 54. Add: McLennan, Worship of plants and animals; Fortnightly Review, 1869-70.

Par. 3.1. 8. Read: and the total instead f as the total.

Par. 5. 1. 8. Read and Add: observed, but the number seven is more frequently met with than any other. Par. 14.1. 3. Read: which conceptions instead of which neeptions.

Par. 15, l. 18. Read; the late instead of the la e.

3099-11

Par. 17, l. 9. Read: Mu is instead of Nu is.

Par. 22. l. 20. after phono-ideograms add: similar to those.

#### 22

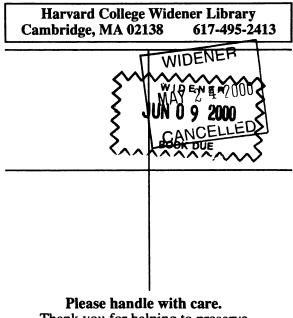
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